1: Longrigg G-4, 5 (ca. 1915-1940) MH1 Iraq MH1

country, often too rainless to produce even the minimum of grazing. It lies, equal in area to the rest of 'Iraq, in the Shamiya desert south-west and west of Euphrates, in the upper Jazira, east of Tigris below Baghdad, and above it astride the Jabal Ḥamrin. These wastes belonged to the true camel-breeding Arab nomads; their inlying fringes, near to the rivers, were the home of the half-settled shepherd sections of cultivating tribes.

The inhabitants of all these regions varied widely in the nearness of their approach to urban civilization and the reach of government. Nearest came the citizens of the towns: then the settled village-dwellers, then the tribal cultivators in their clusters of dwellings, then the marshmen, the half-settled shepherds on the desert fringe, and finally the pure bedouin. These last were and are by far the least numerous element; to regard 'Iraq as largely a bedouin territory is a common error, since much of the country has always afforded the possibility of settled life, and bedouin are found only where no other form of life is possible.

Of the population of the three wilayas, no reliable estimate could be given then or later. The census in Turkish times was conducted, with feeble and venal inefficiency, only in towns and only for conscription purposes. The figures supplied by tribesmen or urban community heads varied with their fears or hopes of liability or benefit. The wilaya of Baṣra in 1900, excluding its Arabian areas, may have contained half a million souls; that of Baghdad perhaps a million and a quarter, that of Mosul less than half a million. A total of midway between two and two and a half million people may fairly be estimated.

The races of which the population consisted, and by each of which some contribution was made, were various. Arabs formed the great majority. But who were these? The folk even of earliest Arabia were of mixed physical types, and it is as idle to look for 'racial purity' in their later offshoots as in other races of the modern world. The Arabs of 'Iraq, in 1900 as today, were Arabic-speaking "Iraqis': a unified amalgam containing physical elements of every population who, from prehistory, had entered the river valleys as invaders or immigrants, and had been assimilated to form that 'Iraqi community which Arabs of Arabia had subjugated in the seventh century A.D. and, by vigour of their arms and faith, had turned into 'Arabs' like themselves. The 'Iraqi people by the end of the nineteenth century were oblivious of—would have denied—any other cultural or ethnic associations.

Within their community the shared tradition and pride of race far outweighed, in most relationships, the differences created by variety of environment, dialect, and material interest: yet these, too, could be formidable as between town and tribe, and as between

1: Longrigg G-4, 5 (ca. 1915-1940) MH1 Iraq MH1

4. 'IRAQ SOCIETY: THE TOWNS

During the span of a single lifetime, from 1830 to 1900, profound changes had come to pass in the urban society of 'Iraq. Most marked in the upper classes, but perceptible in the lower, they radiated from both outwards into a countryside still socially primeval.

Early in the nineteenth century 'Iraq town society had remained almost wholly isolated from Western influences. There was no acquaintance with the outside world. The tempo of life was that of earlier ages, traditional manners held the field, and life in every relationship was based on Islam. No restless progressiveness had appeared: the evils of the times were accepted by all with submissive fatalism. The impact of Western conceptions and activities upon this society was in the Levant gradual, in 'Iraq relatively sudden. Such ideas and phenomena came first to 'Iraq by way of the New Army which had, in a day, superseded Janissaries and Hayta bands: an army with Europeanized officers, soon followed by doctors, engineers, and the whole body of Westernized effendis. The senior officials, Turkish in speech and half-European in education, were accompanied by wives of Istanbul and children fresh from modern-fashioned schools. Posts and telegraphs, foreign trade and enterprise began to operate. The Christian and Jewish minorities, with their European leanings, continued to set a higher standard of education, aided by the missions which served them.

The cumulative effect of these influences had produced by 1900 an 'Iraqi urban society far removed from that of a lifetime earlier. Fed by the telegraph, an incipient press, and the resident foreigners, the talk amongst officials in the Saray, merchants and agents in the coffee-shop, notables in their diwans, could for the first time embrace wider interests. Literacy had become commoner, changes had appeared in domestic and social habit, European clothes were worn by an increasing minority, the tempo of life accelerated. The wealthy class increased in numbers as in possessions, and found fresh ways of spending. Social leadership was still on patriarchal or plutocratic lines; an intelligentsia scarcely existed; but among a widening circle the old acquiescence had begun to yield to dissatisfaction and questioning. An excessive confidence was felt in 'science' and modern knowledge, conceived always as a set of formulae with miraculous efficacy. Except where devotion to orthodox Islam and its endowments was a vested interest, there had been signs of diminished respect for that doctrine and for its professors; but this was still very far from a landslide to atheism, nor had the old standards of behaviour been yet abandoned even by the *évolués*.

1: Longrigg G-4, 5 (ca. 1915-1940) MH1 Iraq MH1

812 stock-in-trade and monopoly of the Shi'i 'alim and mujtahid, who
779 claimed on this basis to lead tribe and town in all secular affairs.
793

5. 'IRAQ SOCIETY: THE TRIBES

• 369 If elements of comparative social progress were to be found in the towns, how far did the great majority of the inhabitants outside still live in a world remote from change?—a world in which a particular range of inherited ideas, repugnances and loyalties obtained: where the manners and restrictions of urban life were unknown: where social observances, marriage and kinship, and the settlement of feuds had their traditional rules, unknown to Turkish law, and the desert virtues of hospitality and gallantry had their own interpretation. This detached specialized world surrounded, on every hand, the towns and greater villages of 'Iraq, dominated all communications, held nine-tenths of the cultivated land. The
619 tribes, homogeneous in code and outlook and each the focus of
795 intense loyalties, differed among themselves in important respects. Of the Arab tribes, roughly half were Sunni, half Shi'i; some, notably the Muntafiq confederation, were Shi'i with a Sunni ruling family; others contained sections of both the faiths. In Kurdistan Shi'i tribes were rare and, in places, suspected of deeper heresy. Such difference of religious allegiance was reflected in the extent to which the Shi'i tribes could be influenced by the mujtahids, and in the Sunni respect for the person of the Caliph. To the statesmen of Turkey the Shi'i sympathies of half 'Iraq were an offence and embarrassment.

619 The environment of the tribe affected not only its economics but
621 its mode of life. The Kurdish nomads moved among settled folk; the desert Arabs abode in their own empty isolated world, from which arose their mental remoteness, their inaccessibility to Government forces, but also their vulnerability through dependence on the markets of the desert fringes. Such were the Dhafir of south-western 'Iraq, the 'Aniza of the Shamiya steppe, the Shammar of the upper Jazira, and smaller groups within 'Iraq. The environment of the settled cultivating tribes varied according to the irrigation method whereby they cultivated, and by the nature of their crops: the fruit or tobacco grower of Kurdistan, the wheat and vegetable grower of Samarrā were different enough from the date gardener of Ba'quba or the Shamiya, or the rice-field workers of the Albu Muḥammad or the Fatla. These folk were 'ignoble' in the eyes of the 'noble', feckless, starving aristocracy of the desert. Of the tribes of every type, the origins were at least as various as
619 their environments, but less easy to formulate. In them all, the vital unifying and loyalty-evoking element was the name itself, and the complex of shared traditions for which it stood; but the how

1: Longrigg G-4, 5 (ca. 1915-1940) MH1 Iraq MH1

and when of tribal identity was rarely answerable, so short is tribal memory, so vainglorious its love of legend, so vague its sense of time and place. Some tribes were, evidently, consolidated groups of mere neighbours of the same valley or river reach—Zibari or Sawamara. Others sprang from a community formed at an oasis, well, or shrine, with all the accretions, soon assimilated, which a secure livelihood would invite. In others, the bond of original kinship, retained effectively by the ruling family, had been spread wider by intermarriage within the group, and was claimed in sentiment by hundreds of loyal adopted kinsmen admitted, over centuries, from without. Historical or imagined kinship was and is, indeed, the essence of the tribal nucleus.

The size of a tribe could vary from a few tents to great confederacies embracing, with greater or lesser integration, a dozen tribes all under a single paramountcy. But of no aspect of tribal life was it, or is it, more difficult to speak precisely than of the tribe's internal organization or solidarity, or lack of these. One authority is 'under' another only by virtue of admired qualities, birth, age, and consent; and such subjection is always unstable. The Western mind is for ever puzzled by the fragility of tribal authority, upon the skill and firmness of which everything in the tribe would seem to depend.

Amid their many elements of variety, the tribes were uniform in the fundamentals of their outlook, their level stages of evolution, their common feeling of distinctness from the governed townsfolk; and their power for good or evil was enhanced by the remarkable range of personalities whom the scope of their free society allowed to emerge. Whatever the townsman of Baghdad or Mosul might feel about the wildness or avarice of his tribal fellow countrymen—whom he would reluctantly admit as such—he must needs confess the force and individuality of many of the Shaykhs: qualities found equally in a great Shaykh of desert 'Aniza or Shammar, the lord of a few sordid reed huts in the Ḥammar Lake, an Amir of the Rabi'a or Zubayd, or the Aghā of a Kurdish countryside.

For all the tumult of their restless politics and feuds, the tribes' material and social state in 1900 might well seem to an observer fundamentally unchanged for centuries. Yet in fact changes had been long at work: the same, in essence, as were moving among the town populations, and due to the same impacts of the time. The Turkish conception of government had changed, control of tribal areas had replaced mere tax-farming as the objective, modern military forces had become available. Even tribesmen could not be ignorant that Courts had been set up which at least claimed universal jurisdiction, criminals were demanded from their tribal refuges, a Mudir and his handful of *Zaptié* (*ḍhabṭiya*) could appear

1: Longrigg G-4, 5 (ca. 1915-1940) MH1 Iraq MH1

from a headquarters no longer distant, telegraph lines could be seen, postmen rode from town to town. A dozen new townships had been founded in the last decades of the century—Nasiriya in the Muntafiq, 'Amara in the lower Tigris, Kut and Bughayla as river-steamer fuelling points, and new-built Khans with gendarme posts along the main routes. The control of the greater canal heads had become a Government function; more and more the local Governor became the invoked arbiter of tribal quarrels; and the Tapu land records with their registration of communal tribal lands as the private property of the Shaykhs had introduced a new and jarring relationship of landlord and tenant to mar that of chieftain and loyal follower.

Other and less obvious elements were at work to modify the old tribal isolation. Increased awareness of the outside world came with the visits of grain-buying merchants' agents, since the steamship had made bulk export possible. The effects of shipping itself radiated inland from Basra and from the Tigris steamboats. European manufactured goods penetrated into every tribe; and the buyers, the effendis, the *Zaptié* and the city populace whom a tribesman might rarely visit, were themselves reflectors, in their kind and degree, of a faint light of Western innovation in the world of speech, ideas, and comparisons. Few of the foreign travellers of the 'nineties failed to comment on the social progress of the last quarter-century and on the greater penetration by Government of the outlying regions.

The Dhafir in the south-western desert, astride the route into Najd, lived on bad terms with ibn Rashid and raided the Mutayr and 'Aniza. The 'Aniza, greatest of nomadic groups of northern Arabia, held the Shamiya desert from Najf to Hit. Their chief, ibn Hadhdhal, titular Qa'immaqam of Razaza, now courted and now imprisoned by the Turks, pursued his ancient feuds with the Shammar, and flouted the Government. The Dulaym were by 1900 largely settled and in part disciplined by the chain of police posts along the Aleppo road.

The Shammar had long passed their great days of formidable unity. Intermittently at war with an outstanding personality of the time, Ibrahim Pasha of the Milli Kurds—bandit, patriarch, general of Hamidiya, protégé of Sultan 'Abd al-Hamid—they were bitterly divided by factions among the sons of Farhan Pasha, and could play off the authority of Mosul against Dayr al-Zur, loot the river traffic, withhold their taxes, and alternately court and reject the favours of Government.

On the lower Euphrates the power of the Sa'dun overlords over a complex of Shi'i tribes was in division and decline. For a generation two separate schools of leadership had appeared: the attempt

1: Longrigg G-4, 5 (ca. 1915-1940) MH1 Iraq MH1

and Muṣṭafā Pasha, brother of 'Izzat Pasha the Sultan's hated secretary, who was cast out from Mosul in 1909 by the incoming C.U.P.

But the outstanding figure of these years was Ḥusayn Nadhim Pasha, a military commander of great prestige with a history of ill-treatment by Sultan 'Abd al-Ḥamid. He was appointed in April 1910 as G.O.C. and Wali of Baghdad with powers of supervision over the other wilayas. He overhauled his vast body of officials, concentrated his troops for intensive training, collected revenue from some wayward tribes, and made indulgent terms with others. He held durbars, patronized education, was reasonably just to the minorities, took flood protection in hand, ordered river craft for town ferries and for an abortive Euphrates service, and pressed on the demolitions for a new thoroughfare in Baghdad. He possessed integrity and resolution: his weaknesses were an excessive desire for apparent modernity, a lack of preparation for his grandiose schemes, too little sense of financial orthodoxy or private rights (especially of foreigners), and easy surrender to bad advisers. His recall to Istanbul in February 1911, due to C.U.P. intrigues fed by Baghdadi tale-bearers, allowed him less than a year of rule in 'Iraq. Mass demonstrations accompanied his departure from Baghdad; and his political murder at the capital in 1913 by Enver's party aroused strong sympathy for him in his old province.

3. TOWN AND TRIBE

With the survival after 1900 of many backward features in the town life of 'Iraq, the first fifteen years of the century nevertheless showed certain progress: a progress quickened by the influence of increased foreign trade, more visitors from without and more foreign residents, an expanded press and political life.

The gulf fixed between the main Muslim communities grew rather wider than narrower in the changing times, since their reaction to the insistent call for Turkish centralization must be different. Sunni and Shi'i found little common ground, Kurd and Arab no more. The Yazidis fiercely resisted conscription: the Turkomans regretted 'Abd al-Ḥamid. The priest-ridden communities of Persians in the Holy Cities drew no nearer to the main public of the country. The Mujtahids continued to reject temporal government whether of Sultan or of Committee, and to embarrass the British Resident by their attitude of greedy non-cooperation over the Oudh Bequest funds. Their presence and abused privileges were never more intolerable to the Turkish rulers than in this period, nor were they themselves ever more active in meetings, intrigues, and pronouncements. Rejecting the would-be moderating approaches of the British Resident, they bombarded

1: Longrigg G-4, 5 (ca. 1915-1940) MH1 Iraq MH1

Teheran with telegrams and memorials against the irreligion of the Shah, the new Persian Constitution, and the Russian penetration.

The non-Muslim minorities, economically a leading element in the towns though socially segregated and governmentally unimportant, retained their lead in their chosen occupations. To the shock of compulsory military service, first imposed in 1909, they reacted characteristically: the Jews, if they could not buy exemption, determined to succeed as soldiers and plunged into drill and military studies, while the Christians adopted every means of evading it by flight, bribes, and falsified registers. Their European contacts increased, and English was increasingly taught in their schools. The Alliance Israélite opened schools at Mosul and Ḥilla, Baṣra, Khaniqin, and 'Amara. The Archbishop's Assyrian mission, through Dr. W. A. Wigram, founded a school at Bibaydi near 'Amadiya. The Carmelite and Dominican missions, with their schools, dispensaries, and printing-presses, were active as ever among the Uniates, the Americans among all classes in southern 'Iraq, the C.M.S. among the Protestants of Baghdad and Mosul, while a German school was opened in 1909. Ill feeling between the Chaldaean and Assyrian communities—the former with jealous French assistance, the latter with hourly appeals for British support—exploded into angry controversy on the question of separate status and registration. Many Chaldaeans, it was said, would gladly have rejoined their old community under the Mar Sham'un if only foreign protection were forthcoming equal to that of the Papal Delegate. The first mention in 'Iraq of a young and then unmenacing movement, Zionism, created no alarm, though Zionist commissions twice arrived from Europe to report on immigration possibilities, and a Jewish pamphlet circulated in 1913 urged the bold policy of demanding Palestine itself.

Security in the towns was in normal times moderately maintained, and would always improve immediately under a strong Wali; the sound of shooting by night was familiar but usually meaningless. Detection of crime was pressed with neither skill nor determination. Anti-Christian or anti-Jewish crime or agitation, on a petty scale, was always ready to appear and little condemned. Most disturbances of the peace came, however, either from the desperation of the hungry, whom in times of near-famine (as at Mosul in 1913) the hoarding of food by merchants drove to burglary and murder, or from the presence in many cities of established gangs of criminals. In Baṣra an aggressive bodyguard was among the resources of Sayid Ṭalib; in Mosul and Sulaymaniya leading citizens—Muḥammad Sabunchi Pasha in the first, the Barzinji shaykhs in the second—were served at need by gangs of bravos; and in the country towns dominated by powerful tribesmen, the crimes of the shaykhs'

1: Longrigg G-4, 5 (ca. 1915-1940) MHI Iraq MHI

439 still divided between the British and the local Jewish firms. Of the former, those with offices at Baṣra in 1914 were Messrs. Lynch, Gray Mackenzie, Strick, and the Basra Trading Company, with the American firm of MacAndrew Forbes handling liquorice. At Baghdad British firms were Lynch, Blockey Cree, and Sassoon of Bombay. Attempts were twice made by an Englishman to found a tailoring business. The Imperial Ottoman Bank had branches at [453] Baghdad and Baṣra under French or Anglo-French control; the Imperial Bank of Persia appeared, only to disappear again as being unwelcome (to its rivals) in Turkish territory; the Eastern Bank opened in Baghdad in 1912. The local currency remained stable, paper money still unknown, and exchanges predictable. Much damage to trade was done by Walis' unwise instructions in the direction of price control and of prohibition on the export of foodstuffs in the supposed interests of 'Iraqi consumers. Nothing stopped shameless hoarding by the rich in years of scarcity.

369 Outside the towns and placid suburban areas the picture of
178 tribal near-anarchy painted by foreign travellers and residents in the
579 'Iraq of 1900 to 1914 is a painful one. But though it is true that standards of security were low, lawless episodes despairingly repeated, and Government forces never adequate, conditions had been much worse in the past. The many new townships and police posts, increasing traffic, wider cultivation, and (for better or worse) greater Government penetration showed substantial advance from the conditions of the previous century. It was in part misleading that quicker communication tended to ventilate throughout the country episodes formerly of mere local interest. Standards, too, with the Europeanization of Government and the increased foreign interests, had become more exacting: the activities of raiders or bandits were counted scandalous where, years ago, they had passed as normal and unremarked. The tribes were more subdivided and thus weakened; resistance to Government by a united tribe was ever rarer. The shaykhs increasingly became involved in town life and politics, and Government decreasingly willing to close its eyes to tribal disobedience; direct administration was the order of the day, and for every day and place in which tribal violence was reported there were long periods and wide spaces of calm.

619 The Shammar, torn by their own rivalries and at perpetual feud
721 with the Milli and 'Aniza, presented until 1909 the complete picture of desert restlessness. Thereafter, the fall and death of Ibrahim Pasha Milli redressed the balance in Shammar favour; the Milli disappeared as a formidable unit, the northern 'Aniza alone disputed Shammar ascendancy. But their successful robberies did little to strengthen the tribe, whose official shaykh the Turks changed annually; and an outbreak of fighting with the

1: Longrigg G-4, 5 (ca. 1915-1940) MH1 Iraq MH1

Dulaym, and the southern Desert. At Police headquarters, control of the specialized departments of criminal and 'special' investigation, of finger-prints, passports, and training passed in these years from British into 'Iraqi hands. The Police strength, less than 3,000 early in 1921, was to exceed 8,000 ten years later: during the same period British police officers were reduced from twenty-two to twelve, 'Iraqi officers increased from two to sixty. Great progress was made in the Department of Civil Jails where, under all-'Iraqi management after 1923, prison industries were developed.

The urban life of 'Iraq, which in these years was taking its modern form and showing its differences of scene and atmosphere from those of the Turkish era, was sadly hampered in its development by poverty. This limited the activities both of the municipalities and of those central Government departments whose work was chiefly urban. Nevertheless, the upkeep and cleanness, the lighting and watering of streets, the maintenance of municipal offices and institutions, and the honesty and energy of Baladiya staffs, all showed a pronounced improvement on Turkish standards. The wearing of the characteristic 'Iraqi urban head-dress—the *sidara*, which superseded the Turkish fez—became universal in the towns. European dress, impeccable in 'Iraqi upper-class and professional circles, was adopted by more and more townsmen and by many tribal leaders who frequented the capital. Mosul was transformed, with its new streets, bridge, water-supply, public buildings, and gardens. Baṣra, extended threefold by the legacy of war-time port and base development, and now uniting the suburbs of 'Ashar, Ma'qil, and Makina, boasted new bridges, improved streets, 'Iraq's finest hospital (the Maude Memorial), and new buildings domestic and commercial. Baghdad, whose municipality ranked as a separate province in the Government hierarchy under the Amin al-'Aṣima (Guardian of the Capital), could show new buildings—the imposing College of Al al-Bayt, the Royal Pavilion, the Maude statue, and others. It possessed a modern fire service, hotels of Western type, adequate shops including some European, an improved water-supply system, branches of three banks—the Eastern, Ottoman, and Imperial Bank of Persia—scores of agencies for European goods, clubs both British and 'Iraqi, municipal dispensaries, a municipal Court. Its streets, however unplanned and still unpaved, were well lighted, crowded with wheeled traffic, and attempting wider alignment and cleaner upkeep; the adaptation of the old Tramway Concession of 1912 was still under debate. In the smaller municipalities, inadequate as were their resources compared with their requirements as now conceived, there were signs of new life in completed or initiated schemes of electric lighting, street clearance, bridges, town gardens, and a host of minor projects for which local pride was clamoring.

1: Longrigg G-4, 5 (ca. 1915-1940) MH1 Iraq MH1

latter, which had their following of enthusiasts, were hampered by lack of playing fields and of funds and, perhaps, by some survival of conservative apathy. Sport,[1] in fact, non-existent in 'Iraq two generations earlier save for tribal games and wrestling, was still far from taking, even among the young, the leading place in popular interest which it occupied in Europe and America. Horse-racing—as elsewhere, half sport and half business—was well supported; it was regulated by law, adopted modern totalizator arrangements, stands and amenities, and was organized by two companies. Of these, successors of a series of Racing Clubs and Companies from 1918 onwards, one maintained a course in the New Baghdad suburb, the other on the royal estate now under development. Hunting and polo were the amusements of a small coterie of Army officers and the rich, under the Regent's patronage.

The immense increase in mobility and travel for all but the poorest had had strong social and psychological effects in modifying the old parochialism and encouraging wider interests. The same is true of the visits paid annually by thousands of the well-to-do to Turkey or Syria, the Lebanon, or Europe; these, as areas of escape from summer heat, were increasingly preferred to the 'Iraqi hill-stations[2] in Kurdistan which offered only coolness and scenery in austere conditions. An expenditure exceeding ID 2,500,000 on summer resorts and rest-houses formed in 1951 part of the six-year plan of the Development Board.

Although illiteracy and deep ignorance were still widespread in the towns and vastly predominant in the tribes, yet two world upheavals, fifty years of immensely increased Western contacts, easy travel and communication, conspicuous material development, an abundant press, broadcasting, greatly multiplied schools, and local and national politics had done much to modify the old isolation of the lives and minds of the poor, and had increased incomparably, among the literate classes, their knowledge of the world and the times. Such knowledge, too often superficial and distorted, was nevertheless a world away from that of the 'Iraqi effendi of 1900 both in content and in the extent of the social range of those affected. Disinterested higher learning was still rare and, theology apart, was confined to a bare dozen students of local history or

[1] Games played were football, basketball, volley-ball, badminton, boxing, athletics, wrestling, weight-lifting, table-tennis, darts, and chess. For the first two of these, various, including national, leagues and championships were organized. 'Iraqi skill at their chosen sports was excellent.

[2] These, dating from the late thirties, were Salah al-Din (formerly Pirmam) with a large hotel and private houses for hire; Shaqlawa and Hajj 'Umran with small hotels; and Sursink, with a medium hotel and a royal lodge which made it the most fashionable. All were accessible by passable roads.

3: Clark S-5 (1950) 1951 MH1 Iraq MH1

871 369 *The Need for Realistic Tribal Education.* Apart from this great need for the right type of village school for the forty per cent of the population who are living in settled rural communities, there should be educational provision related to the special needs of the thirty-eight per cent of the population living under semi-settled or nomadic conditions and participating in a partial or fully tribal life.

Here again attention was drawn to this important educational need by the Monroe Commission which stated that 'practically [212] all tribal members are illiterate with the exception of some sheikhs who were sent early in their lives to towns or had a special mullah or sayyid, who lived with the tribe, to teach them reading the Koran and writing'. Again with certain modifications, due to the efforts of a minority of tribal heads who have provided their own school buildings, the comments of the Monroe Commission apply equally to conditions in 1950.

The Monroe Commission, mainly on the advice of an Iraqi educator who had made a special study of the educational needs of tribal adults and children, stressed the great importance of both preventive and constructive education for tribal dwellers during the difficult period of transition from the nomadic to the more settled agricultural life. They advocated novel educational devices to meet these special educational needs, including the provision of peripatetic teachers-cum-social advisers who would ultimately promote realistic rural schools which would provide primary education for the children and simple community centres for the adults.

These then, are the general and the outstanding educational needs of Iraq. It is now necessary, in so far as these relate to children of primary school age, to enquire to what extent they are being met in the existing primary schools system, both quantitatively and qualitatively.

7: International Bank N, S-4 (1951) 1952 MH1 Iraq MH1

conditions in the future, the rate could rise to two percent per annum or even higher within a comparatively short period. Obviously this possibility will have to be borne in mind in planning the development of social services such as education and housing. It also has important implications in agriculture. As the limited supply of water is more fully utilized, most of the increase in population may ultimately have to be absorbed in nonagricultural pursuits, unless water is used much more efficiently than it is now.

As the standard of social services such as health and education is higher in the cities and the opportunities for employment are more varied, the distinction between urban and rural population is an important one in considering the age and sex distribution of the people, their occupations and their standard of living. About 550,000 people live in the municipality of Baghdad, another 300,000 in the next three largest cities of Mosul, Basra and Kirkuk and some 350,000 in other towns having a population of over 15,000. Thus about 1.2 million people or a quarter of the population live in sizeable urban communities. In addition, there are about a hundred smaller municipalities having an aggregate population of under half a million. These towns are usually the administrative and market centers of the minor political subdivisions such as *qadhas* and *nahiyas* and many of them are little more than large villages; in many respects they form a semirural category intermediate between the larger towns and the villages.

There has been a strong migration from the country to the cities in recent years, particularly during the last war. The most striking examples of this can be seen in Baghdad and Basra where many thousands of "squatters" from Amara province are crowded together in makeshift huts under extremely unhygienic conditions. The peculiarly adverse conditions of life in Amara have made that province the principal source of migrants to the large cities and, indeed, to most parts of the country, but there has evidently been a substantial movement from the rural areas in general. As it is prima facie likely that these migrants would consist principally of young adults or adolescents, especially men, it is not surprising to find that the census shows a much higher proportion of the very young (under 10) and the old (over 50) in the rural areas, the disparity being even more marked among men than among

7: International Bank N, S-4 (1951) 1952 MH1 Iraq MH1

As a consequence they have a far healthier diet and are obviously better dressed. In fact, it is not uncommon to find a farmer who himself employs a fellah. Although this is partly a consequence of the large size of his plot (100 donums including fallow), it is indicative of his much higher standard of living.

In the towns, workers with regular employment would be much better off than the poor fellah, but in cities such as Basra and Baghdad where there has been a great influx of people from the country, there is considerable underemployment in addition to unemployment. Although, at the current rate of wages for casual labor (about 200 to 250 fils a day) a man might theoretically earn an annual income of ID 75 or more, there must be many who work irregularly and earn less than ID 50. Bread and rice are comparatively costly and, together with the rent of a room for a man's family, might take nearly half his income.

Wages are probably not much higher in many of the smaller and more primitive industries, but artisans such as plumbers and electricians are scarce and can command much higher wages. In the more modern industries, such as the oil industry, the Port of Basra and the new factories in Baghdad, a skilled machinist can earn a dinar a day or more. On the clerical side, in the lowest grade of the regular civil service a married official with more than one child receives ID 13 per month.

The higher income of the city-dweller with regular employment enables him to purchase a reasonable diet, better clothing and better housing. He also has access to educational and health services. Nevertheless, congestion and sanitary conditions are often very bad in certain parts of the cities and disease is common.

Above these various classes is the small rich group of landowners and merchants. No estimate of the proportion of the national income accruing to this group is possible, but some indication can be gleaned from the fact that a landowner in the South normally gets at least half the net value of the output from the land, while, in industry, profits may exceed the total payroll.

7: International Bank N, S-4 (1951) 1952 MH1 Iraq MH1

varieties of pistachio scions on established native pistachio trees should be given particular attention. Almond orchards could be increased to advantage.

Vegetables and Potatoes

Vegetable culture is concentrated in the neighborhood of the large cities where such products as radishes, lettuce, cabbage, cucumbers, squash, tomatoes and others are in good supply during the season. Unfortunately vegetables do not figure prominently in the diet of most people. Outside of the big towns little or no vegetables are eaten. In part, this appears to be due to the fact that tribal tradition holds the cultivation of vegetables in low esteem. However, where the sharecropper is inclined to grow vegetables, he may be discouraged by the lack of available land or the shifting of the area assigned to him for cultivation. If a determined effort were made by the government to enlist the cooperation of the landowners, it might not be too difficult to overcome these obstacles.

It might be desirable to increase the production of potatoes which are now imported to the value of about ID 100,000 per year. The lighter soils along the large streams in the provinces of Mosul, Erbil and Suleimaniya are particularly well adapted to the production of both Irish and sweet potatoes. With proper guidance in cultural practices and the use of fertilizers, planters in these areas could easily supply the country's needs. If it is demonstrated that potato yields compare favorably with other crops, the government might well encourage the planting of potatoes both by launching an educational campaign and by furnishing the necessary seed to planters. Special attention will need to be given to transport, however, and the growers will have to be shown how to build inexpensive potato bins or pits with sufficient ventilation, insulation and accessibility.

Tobacco

Tobacco has been grown to some extent in the North for centuries, although it was not until the last few decades that its production assumed importance. Even now, the value of the tobacco crop is probably no more than a tenth of that of wheat or barley. In the mountainous areas of Erbil and Suleimaniya, however, it is

7: International Bank N, S-4 (1951) 1952 MH1 Iraq MH1

congested living conditions combined with a coarse and monotonous diet.

In common with many other countries, there has been a drift to the towns, and unsanitary slums have formed on the outskirts of some cities. Steps should be taken to improve the living conditions of these slum dwellers. So far sewers and sewage disposal are generally lacking in the cities and towns. Baghdad has septic tanks and cesspools, but there are still some open drains; most of the larger towns have similar systems of sewage disposal but conditions in the smaller towns and villages are still very primitive. The disposal of household refuse and the cleaning of streets are generally well carried out in the bigger cities but not in most towns and villages.

Constant pilgrimage traffic creates another problem in public health. The holy shrines of the Shia sect of Moslems are in Iraq and a large number of Iraqis are members of this sect. There is a continuous stream of travelers through the country, including both Iraqis and foreigners, mostly Iranians, visiting the holy shrines, and Iraqi and foreign pilgrims on their way to Mecca. All this traffic exposes Iraq to the dangers of imported epidemic disease and stringent quarantine regulations have been enacted. But the land frontier with Iran is so long that it is quite certain many incoming pilgrims never are subjected to any control measures. This means that Iraq needs internal preventive services of the highest possible standard. Currently, all pilgrims leaving Iraq for Mecca are vaccinated against smallpox and inoculated against cholera.

The need for greater emphasis on preventive measures stands out clearly in even a brief analysis of the most debilitating diseases and their causes.

Intestinal Disorders

Ankylostomiasis (hookworm disease) in itself produces anemia. Many patients are so weak by the time they reach a hospital that they require lengthy treatment. It thrives in an unsanitary environment characterized by inadequate sewage disposal, open drains, and lack of proper latrines. Incomplete surveys indicate that it is most prevalent in the South.

7: International Bank N, S-4 (1951) 1952 MH1 Iraq MH1

759 legislation, water supplies, removal and treatment of waste matter, industrial health, and maternity and child welfare. In the qualifying course it would best be taught as social medicine which might be defined as "the study of those environmental factors which affect health, and the application of that study to the benefit of man with a view to the prevention of disease and promotion of health."

There appears to be an excessive trend towards specialization. In some hospitals specialists have been appointed where there is clearly not enough specialized work for them. Though specialization should by no means be overlooked, a specialist service must depend first upon an adequate supply of general practitioners. Probably the four most needed types of doctors, in addition to physicians, are surgeons, eye specialists, gynecologists and obstetricians.

758 One of the more urgent requirements is to attract doctors
369 to the provinces. Iraqi doctors have shown little inclination so far to work in villages, partly for financial reasons but not a little because of the great lack of amenities in rural areas. There are no suitable houses for the doctors and their families, few schools, and in many places neither lighting nor a pure water supply. Young doctors who have been trained to require and depend upon all the latest technical aids in diagnosis and to insist upon the use of the most modern forms of treatment generally find that in most villages they cannot practice the medicine they were taught. If the best use is to be made of the doctors available, as much emphasis must be put on improving village facilities as on training doctors for the provinces.

Medical Aides

759 The acute shortage of trained aides is almost more serious than the shortage of doctors. In one hospital there were 21 doctors but only 12 trained nurses. There is a general lack of specially trained laboratory assistants, operating room attendants, radiographers, hospital storekeepers or hospital dispensers, and the like. Health officials, trained primarily for service in village dispensaries, are frequently diverted to hospitals to act as special "medical auxiliaries".

In all, there are about 1,000 nurses and dressers for some 5,000 hospital beds. Trained nurses are few in number so that

20: Hourani S-5 (1945) 1947 M1 Middle East
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economically dependent on the British. Quite apart from the economic dangers of this, there were signs that they once more hoped for autonomy under British protection. The danger of such hopes is too obvious to need explanation.

The Other Christians

Apart from the Assyrians, the Christians in Iraq are mainly Chaldaeans, Syrian Orthodox and Catholics, and Armenian Orthodox and Catholics, with smaller numbers of Greek Orthodox, Greek Catholics and other Uniates, and Protestants. The communities are recognized by the Government as possessing competence in matters of personal status and other internal affairs.

Here, as in the other countries, the Christians are more fully an urban community than the Moslems, and show a peculiar aptitude for commerce, crafts and the professions; but there is also a large peasant community, Chaldaean, Syrian Orthodox and Syrian Catholic, in the plains around Mosul. In Iraq, as elsewhere, the proportion of educated Christians is higher than that of educated Moslems, and they are further advanced on the road to Westernization, thanks to the work of foreign missions and schools.

The Armenians are a trading community in the towns. They preserve their language and traditions carefully, but they are too few to be able to avoid some measure of external assimilation. The other Christians are partly Syriac-speaking, partly Arabic. This cannot, however, be regarded as a sharp distinction, since the language used depends upon the environment in which they are living, and many of them are bi-lingual. In general, it is true that those whose native language is now Arabic spoke Syriac until recent generations, and that with few exceptions they are not conscious of belonging to the Arab nation.

In spite of efforts to spread the conception of a 'Syriac' people, the general tendency among the Christians is towards at least a superficial Arabization. This raises the question of their relation towards the Arab nationalist movement. So far, they have regarded it with fear and hostility, apart from some individuals who have supported it with enthusiasm. The nationalists too have tended to suspect them, although the existence of the much greater Kurdish and Shi'i problems has diverted attention from them. What the future relationship will be depends very

44:Matthews and Akrawi S, G-3 (1945-1946)1949 Mi Middle East
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American Council Commission visited some schools in which the majority of teachers had been recently transferred, and in one province about a third of the principals had been shifted before the start of the school year. This practice makes for instability and lack of continuity of policy in the school and at the same time destroys personal interest on the part of teachers and principals in their own schools. As it is, teachers and principals tend to lay the blame for the shortcomings of the school on the shoulders of their predecessors. Responsibility for good or bad school management is lost, and it is difficult for the Ministry to appraise the work of the teachers. Appraisal is made by inspectors on the basis of short visits and reports of the conduct of the teachers rather than on long-term achievement.

No one cause explains the frequency of transfers, but a variety of reasons may be found. Among these are lack of cooperation or personal quarrels among teachers or between teachers and their principals and differences between teachers and the local populations or the administrative authorities, the fact that transfers drag other transfers in their trail, and the fact that dissatisfaction with their posts leads teachers to exert continuous pressure on the educational authorities for transfers to more favorable situations. Some of this is a natural and legitimate desire for advancement, but much of it arises from nostalgia for the home province or from the extreme discomfort of living in an outlying village. It is impossible to deny that most of the outlying villages lack the simplest and most necessary amenities of life: satisfactory living quarters are unavailable; there are frequently no facilities for buying fresh meat and vegetables or for medical care. Under such conditions conscientious work and professional enthusiasm do not flourish, however capable and well-intentioned the teacher may be.

A housing program for village teachers and their families would go a long way toward solving this problem and toward raising the morale of the teaching profession. The dividend secured in increase in teaching efficiency would be worth the cost. Moreover, at least some of the expense could be recovered in the form of rent.

Salaries and promotions

Graduates of rural- and elementary-teachers colleges have a beginning salary of eight dinars ($32) per month; graduates of the three-year course in the primary-teachers colleges begin at ten dinars ($40) per month; and graduates of the four-year course—two years beyond secondary—receive 12 dinars ($48) per month. Salaries are paid for all twelve months, and teachers have a three-month summer vacation.

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II. [illegible] BASIC PROBLEMS OF THE RURAL PEOPLE

A. PRESENT CONDITIONS

369 511 162 The some 4,000,000 more people of Iraq who live the rural areas have been long characterized by many people both within and outside Iraq as suffering from poverty, ill health and illiteracy. These conditions become readily apparent to one visiting the villages of the country today. The characterization of the people can be extended to their being ill-housed, ill-fed and ill-clothed.

369 511 The survey was immediately impressed with the crude and inefficient methods of making a living and the unnecessarily poor and unhealthy home and village life. These conditions can be remedied by instruction and assistance. People farm with primitive equipment and are wasteful of land and water. In village after village there are mud huts without light or fresh air. Families live, sleep and eat in single rooms packed together with animals, food, stores, farming equipment and refuse. Children play in courtyards filled with animal dung and filth, many people suffer from infected eyes, skin sores and diseases caused by unsanitary conditions which could be greatly reduced by better sanitary conditions. In the mas food is prepared on the floors where it comes in contact with the accum ted filth, flies, chickens, dogs and other animals. Pots and pans and mixing s ns lie on the ground. They are crudely cleaned with dirty water or old rag . There are no such things as kitchens, screened lockers for food or clean and covered places for drinking water in the homes of the rural villagers. Instruction in home care could overcome much of this.

369 364 511 The lack of pure drinking water is one of the most acute problems in these villages. Some pumps and water tanks and some water piped from springs to collection pools have been installed. However, these facilities frequently lack sanitary protection and show lack of proper maintenance by the communities. Often wells have around them accumulation of stagnant water, mud and animal dung. Another acute problem is the lack of any facilities in many villages, and homes for taking care of human waste. Where toilets exist they are more uncovered holes open to flies and a source of spreading disease.

369 871 Many villages have not yet received the benefit of schools where children can learn some of the concepts and techniques which would enable them to understand the need for improving their conditions and help their families in doing so. In some villages young girls are not allowed by their elders to attend school or not provided with primary schools, buildings and teachers. Much of a new generation is growing up illiterate and ignorant of how they might help themselves when they grow up.

369 423 471 511 Inquiry among villagers and local officials revealed that although there might be a headman or mukhtar of the village, nearly all direction and management of their affairs comes from outside leadership. Communities lack the local leadership and organization by which they might progress through their own efforts. Sheikhs, landlords, their agents (sirkal) who are frequently local government representatives as well, direct the farming operations, decide the lands on which the villagers will farm and live, provide much of the seed and equipment, direct the cleaning of ditches, collect the shares of crops and other payments and decide whether or not the farmers may live and work on the land during the next year. Even the farmer who owns his own land is not without obligations to money lenders, tax collectors and government supervision. The farmers and tenants of Iraq are dependent upon

369 423 471 511 others almost for life itself. In their position they cannot help themselves, but go on generation after generation at the same poor level of living. There are no committees or councils to represent themselves or which government sources might utilize for participation in family and village development programmes.

369 433 511 Many other problems such as undeveloped village crafts and industries, lack of access roads and marketing facilities might be added. Enough has been described to indicate the great and urgent need for a broad programme for assistance to the rural population of the country. It is recognized that these are not new conditions but part of a way of life that has been characteristic of these people for centuries. The wealth and labour of the land through all these years has been for the welfare of the few who ruled. It has been only within comparatively recent years that the leaders of Iraq have become concerned about or in a position to help in the improvement of rural affairs.

B. CAUSES OF CONDITIONS

369 566 Many factors beside tradition have contributed to the present plight of the rural people. Essentially their problems stem from the lack of security on the land, the lack of financial means or credit to develop their farming or crafts and the lack of knowledge to promote their own advancement.

1. System of Land Tenure

369 423 471 The major and self-evident cause of present poverty is the lack of ownership of land and of any security under the tenant system. The tenant owns no farm or house. He must shift his farming operations or even leave the land as he is directed. Therefore, he has no base on which to build a better life or earn a better income. The small land farmer who owns his own land frequently has an insufficient amount to provide adequate income.

2. Lack of Credit

369 452 566 Credit for the small farmer or tenant is virtually unavailable. Both tenant and small owner are subject to a system of sharecropping or credit which by exorbitant rates leaves them with insufficient balance from their crops for their own subsistence. In fact some tenants receive as little as 20 to 30 per cent of their crop. Small farmers often have to forfeit their lands because they cannot pay off their mortgages and work in the employ of their creditors. Rarely it was found that a small farmer received a loan from the Agricultural Bank.

3. Poor Land Use

369 566 311 The landlord, however, does not always stand to make great profits. He loses more proportionately than the tenant during crop failures when he must provide them with food and receive no return. He loses continually from their inefficient farming methods, their ill-health and limited ability to work and the uses to which he puts his hands.

4. Lack of Knowledge and Training

369 871 212 Especially important among these reasons for poverty is lack of training and information. The rural people are for the most part without education in its broadest and most fundamental sense. First, there is a lack of ability to read and write to obtain more information.

000 and write to obtain more information. Most rural people have not yet learned such
369 fundamental principles as crop rotation to enrich the land, the concept of germs,
311 or the principles of infection and contagion. Under their circumstances they have not been able to acquire a growing store of knowledge or of experience to pass down for the advancement of each successive generation. In other words, the people of rural Iraq have had little cultural heritage or growth.

5. Attitudes and Social Organization

369 Also fundamental to their poverty are attitudes derived from their social
366 position and relationships with their sheikhs and landowners. Virtually imprisoned by their condition of total dependence and debt, rural people have developed deep
151 feelings of powerlessness and futility. Many of these attitudes stem from a
178 weakening of historical tribal relationship in which there were greater reciprocal obligations between leaders and the people. Now they become unbalanced when the traditional tribal social system degenerates as sheikhs abandon their tribal responsibilities and take tribal lands as their personal possessions. The tribesman becomes detached from his social group. His dependence becomes greater upon the whims of his sheikh. This leader feels less and less obligation as the state and local governments assume those responsibilities for the welfare of the people which the sheikh formerly performed.

III. THE REQUIREMENTS FOR IMPROVEMENT OF RURAL PEOPLE

000 A. A PROBLEM REQUIRING TOTAL GOVERNMENT ACTION

The causes of the rural problems as briefly described obviously indicate that nothing less than a full scale attack upon them by all ministries and agencies of the government will bring about the desirable changes and improvements. Economic and social development of the rural people is not only necessary for their own welfare but for the welfare and progress of Iraq as a whole. A national economic and social development programme for rural peoples under the co-operative planning and direction of government leaders is needed. This programme should integrate into single, national, social plan of action the present and planned government activities of land and water development. The provisions should include as well as new plans for making ownership of farms available to tenants and landless people, credit, accessible to these small farmers at reasonable rates, instruction in new agricultural practices, establishment of public health and professional medical services available for all people, provision of education for every child, advice and demonstration in the improvement of housing, instruction in home and child care, establishment of social services for the needy, ill, blind and orphaned, construction of access roads to allow marketing of farm products from every village, development of village industries and the organization of communities for participation in an ultimate direction of their local affairs. This will take time, effort, money, careful study and planning, and increased inter-ministry and agency co-operation before it can be put into effect. The information and skills now exist to undertake this national campaign. It is a programme on which national leaders and with technical assistance from abroad can unite in their thinking and their efforts to build a solid agricultural economy as the foundation of Iraq.

Sephardic origin. The majority have since migrated to Israel, while probably less than 10,000 remain, subject to certain restrictions. Over 130,000 were transported to Israel by the Iraqi government in 1950-51. About 5,000 Palestinian refugees have settled in the country since the Arab-Israeli conflict in 1948. Small numbers of British, American and other nationalities also reside in the larger cities.

As a whole, Iraq is sparsely settled, with the population concentrated in the river valleys and in the rain-irrigated highland districts of the north. The most densely populated areas are found in the river valleys of the northern delta. In 1947, the density of population in the provinces of the upper delta region was calculated at 131 per square mile in Hilla and 104 in Baghdad. In the northern provinces of Mosul, Kirkuk and Erbil it averaged 31 to 39 per square mile, and in Sulaimaniya, on the eastern frontier, 62 per square mile. In the south, it ranged from 75 per square mile in Basra province to 42 in Amarah, while in Dulaim, on the upper reaches of the Euphrates, it did not exceed 10 per square mile. The population is essentially rural: over three quarters of the inhabitants live in some 8,000 small villages or in semipermanent settlements. The Bedouin, representing about 5 to 8 per cent of the total population, roam the deserts with their flocks, but many migrate seasonally to the towns in search of work. There are only 7 cities with over 40,000 inhabitants. The population of Baghdad, the capital, was estimated at between 900,000 and 1 million in 1952, including over 500,000 in the metropolitan area and several hundred thousand in the surrounding suburbs. The population of Mosul, a commercial center on the upper Tigris, totaled about 150,000, and of Kirkuk, the metropolis of the oil region, almost 75,000. Basra, the chief port, located on the Shatt al Arab, had a population of 90,000 to 100,000.

In spite of considerable progress in education within the last 30 years, the majority

TICKS AND MITES. NUMEROUS SPECIES OF ticks infest the livestock, including *Rhipicephalus sanguineus*, *Hyalomma dromedarii* and *Haemaphysalis cinnabarina punctata*. *Ornithodorus tholozani* occurs in many localities, and is the vector in sporadic cases of tick-borne relapsing fever. *O. savignyi* is present in the desert areas. The fowl or blue Persian tick, *Argas persicus*, and the castor bean tick, *Ixodes ricinus*, are widespread.

The itch mite, *Sarcoptes scabiei*, is prevalent, especially in the congested urban communities and rural villages. The grain itch mite, *Pediculoides ventricosus*, is a frequent pest in the grain-growing districts.

SCORPIONS AND SPIDERS. Scorpions are common, particularly in the northern provinces. The most dangerous species are *Buthus australis* and *B. crassicauda*. *B. europaeus* is also present. A few deaths from scorpion stings are reported each year, usually among young children or old people. *Scorpio maurus kruglovi* is sometimes encountered in the plains and *S. maurus townsendi* in the Persian Gulf region. The principal poisonous spider in Iraq is *Lycosa tarantula*.

OTHER ARTHROPODS. *Reduvius tabidus* and *R. annulipes* are found in many areas. The "date beetle," a large aquatic species of the family BELASTOMIDAE, is capable of causing serious bites.

Reptiles. Twenty-six species of snakes have been recorded from Iraq, but only 5 land varieties are venomous. Casualties from snake bites are reported occasionally. A large proportion of the fatalities is probably caused by the Levantine or blunt-nosed viper, *Vipera lebetina lebetina*, which inhabits the northeastern highlands from north of Baghdad to the Turkish and the Iranian frontiers. *V. lebetina euphratica* is also seen in some localities. The horned viper, *Aspis cerastes* (= *Cerastes cornutus*), is native to the alluvial plains, while the carpet viper, *Echis carinatus*, is found in limited areas in Diwaniya province. The hoodless cobra, *Naja morgani*, is widely distributed but apparently is rare. The poison-

63:Simmons et al G-5 (1941-1951) 1954
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Distribution of Schistosomiasis in Iraq

to 80 per cent in different localities. The disease is most extensive in the southern provinces and particularly in the vicinity of the Hammar lakes and the Amarah marshes. It is absent south of Basra, however, since the salinity of the waters along the Shatt al Arab interferes with the breeding of the intermediate snail host. Foci of infection decrease in prevalence toward the north, but spread along the Euphrates to the Syrian border and, in the east, as far as the upper reaches of the Tigris and its main tributary, the Diyala. As yet the districts bordering the Great Zab and the Little Zab rivers are uninfected. The northern *liwas*, or provinces, of Erbil, Kirkuk and Sulaimaniya are apparently free from the disease, but a few isolated foci exist south of the foothills in Mosul.

Surveys based upon the examination of urine specimens collected from men and boys in representative villages in 1949-50[84] suggest a mean infection rate of 67 per cent in Amarah *liwa* which, because of the predominance of marshlands, is one of the most seriously infected areas in the country. In Basra *liwa* the rate averaged 23 per cent, but ranged from 26 per cent in the city of

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164 361 369 Basra to 75 per cent at Al Qurnah, in the fork between the rivers. In Muntafiq, the mean rate was 47 per cent, and in Diwaniya, 26 per cent, although some districts were heavily infected and others practically free. In central Iraq the disease was more irregular in distribution. In Baghdad *liwa* the infection rates averaged 35 per cent, but approached 80 per cent in some localities. In Kut, the mean was 48 per cent, with a decrease in prevalence toward the Iranian frontier. In Hilla, it was 15 per cent, with variations from 5 to 50 per cent, and in Kerbela, 28 per cent, with variations from 18 to 48 per cent. In the areas studied in Diyala *liwa* it ranged from 28 to 60 per cent, and in Dulaim it approximated 36 per cent. Subsequent surveys have revealed 11 to 18 per cent infection in limited foci near the marshes in Mosul *liwa*.

164 361 369 742 In a survey conducted in Baghdad in 1950-51,[87] ova of *S. haematobium* were found in 25 per cent of the urine samples collected from 285 schoolchildren and in 46 per cent of the samples from 242 inhabitants in hut settlements on the outskirts of the city. The prevalence was around 20 to 25 per cent in the suburbs, but reached 83 per cent in foci along the main road to Teheran.

164 462 Indigenous cases of *S. mansoni* infection have not been reported, but numerous cases of rectal involvement with *S. haematobium* have been observed. A dermatitis produced by nonhuman schistosome cercariae is common in the south and is often responsible for considerable disability among the agricultural workers.

164 462 312 744 Schistosomiasis constitutes one of the most important disease problems in Iraq. It is of major public health and economic significance, and the possibility of its spread with the expansion of irrigation is a matter of considerable concern to the government authorities. An active schistosomiasis control program is carried on by the Bilharzia Section of the Department of Endemic Diseases. This section maintains snail destruction and treatment units in the affected

63:Simmons et al G-5 (1941-1951) 1954
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Bejel in Iraq. Areas of Greatest Prevalence

in the settlements bordering the larger rivers and the marshes, where it is known locally by different names, chiefly *bejel*, *lawath* and *abou khisian*. It is believed that at least two thirds of the infections are acquired in childhood, with the maximum transmission between 2 and 5 years of age. Serious foci, in which the disease sometimes reaches epidemic proportions, exist in the southeastern provinces and along the Tigris and its tributaries in Mosul *liwa*. The districts around the Amarah marshes are probably the most severely affected, but infection rates of over 50 per cent are found in many villages in Amarah, Muntafiq, Basra and Mosul *liwas*. An important focus also persists in Dulaim *liwa*, in the vicinity of Hit and Ramadi. Surveys have shown moderately high infection rates in some villages, while in others the existence of 20 to 25 per cent of seropositive latent cases is suggestive of epidemic conditions in the recent past. The disease is present among the Bedouin tribes of the desert, but is absent among the Kurdish populations of the northeastern mountain districts. Indigenous cases are seldom seen in the towns, although a focus has been established in Baghdad,

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164 where the infection was introduced by
369 refugees from Amarah and has spread in the *serifa* settlements and the slum sections of the city.

744 A syphilis and bejel control program was
164 initiated in 1950 by the government health authorities, in conjunction with the World Health Organization and the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund. A dispensary and training center and research laboratories are maintained at the headquarters in Baghdad, while field units conduct surveys and mass treatment campaigns in the provinces. Investigations on the distribution and the relative prevalence of the infection, the significance of possible
[758] insect vectors, the most effective methods of treatment and the radiologic and the serologic aspects of the disease are being carried forward by the headquarters and field personnel.

164 Diseases of the Eyes. Trachoma is
758 widespread, and is regarded by many as one of the most important endemic diseases in the country. The cases treated in government institutions usually average over
164 500,000 a year. The infection rates are uniformly high in the central provinces, and, in 1950, were calculated at over 233 per 1,000 population in Baghdad, 195 in Kerbela, 140 in Diyala and 102 in Hilla *liwas*. In the remaining provinces they ranged from 24 to 70 per 1,000. The density of population and the concentration of medical facilities in central Iraq cast some doubt, however, that such figures are representative of the degree of infection in the different regions. Cases of advanced trachoma are common, while local authorities estimate that 25 to 40 per cent of the children in many districts suffer from some form of the disease. Statistics from the government hospitals and dispensaries for the 15 years from 1929 through 1943 show that 53 per cent of all the eye diseases treated and 26 to 36 per cent of the total infections were trachomatous in origin.

Conjunctivitis, including both infectious and noninfectious types, is almost equally

000 years. The infection is believed to be en-
164 zootic among the field rodents in sections
133 of the eastern and the southern provinces,
505 since outbreaks have sometimes coincided with floods which caused the rats to seek shelter in the villages. It has also been introduced on occasion by way of steamer traffic through Basra and the river towns.
164 With the exception of 34 cases, associated with a localized outbreak in the vicinity of Amarah in 1945, no instance of human plague was reported from 1937 through 1952. The 1945 outbreak started in a small village on the edge of the marshes near Amarah, in which 16 cases and 4 deaths were recorded within a period of 20 days.
164 Quarantine measures were enforced by the
744 government health organization and the Allied military authorities. DDT spraying was resisted by the inhabitants, who fled to the marshes, and the most seriously infected village was finally evacuated and burned to the ground.

In Baghdad and Basra, captured rats are often examined for the presence of plague, but rodent control is not attempted in the various cities and towns unless an epidemic is threatened. Plague-infected rats were found in Baghdad up to 1938.

164 **Relapsing Fever.** Both louse-borne and tick-borne relapsing fever are sporadic: from 25 to 100 cases are usually reported each year. Small localized outbreaks of louse-borne relapsing fever occur from time to time, primarily in the northern provinces. More extensive outbreaks were recorded in 1945-47, undoubtedly part of the epidemic wave which swept through the eastern Mediterranean countries in 1942-46. According to official statistics, 243 cases were treated in government institutions in 1945, 334 in 1946 and 379 in 1947, in contrast with 52 cases in 1944 and 26 to 33 in 1948-49.

Occasional cases of tick-borne relapsing fever are encountered in northern Iraq.
[136] *Ornithodorus tholozani* is regarded as the probable vector.

164 **Leishmaniasis.** Cutaneous leishmaniasis
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164 369 is endemic in the alluvial plain region, within a radius of about 100 miles around Baghdad, which is one of the major foci in the Middle East. There the infection rates average 20 to 60 per cent, and probably approach 95 per cent in many localities, especially in the older parts of the city. Outside of this traditional focus, the infection is distributed irregularly. Some of the agricultural districts to the south are relatively free from the disease, but in the more compact towns and villages the infection rates are as high as 40 per cent. In Basra and Muntafiq *liwas*, the extent of infection is slight, and even in the towns the prevalence probably does not exceed 3 to 4 per cent. North of Baghdad the disease appears to be confined to isolated foci. It is widespread in the city of Mosul and in the towns of Beled, Samarrah and 'Aqra, but is almost completely absent from the steppe country and from the mountainous areas of Iraqi Kurdistan.

164 158 In the 6-year period 1944-49, the cases of Oriental sore treated annually in government institutions ranged between a minimum of 2,910 in 1948 and a maximum of 10,502 in 1945. All ages are affected, but most of the infections are acquired in childhood, with the greatest susceptibility between 1 and 4 years of age. Multiple lesions [511] are frequent, particularly among individuals living in congested and unhygienic surroundings. Ulcerative sores predominate, but the nodular type is seen in a large percentage of the cases. Secondary tuberculoid lesions, arising in healing ulcers, are also common in children. The largest number of cases is usually observed in August, September and October. *Phlebotomus sergenti* is apparently the only important vector in [136] Iraq, as in Pakistan. Cutaneous infections occur among the dogs and the cats found in the cities, but they are thought to play a minor role in the spread of the human disease.

164 369 Visceral leishmaniasis, or kala-azar, is suspected of being sporadic in the northern part of the country, although up to 1950

only 1 case, in which the diagnosis was confirmed by laboratory examination, had been recorded. Potential sandfly vectors of kala-azar are apparently absent in the southern and the central provinces, but they may exist in the northern highlands. 164 369

Other Infections. Sandfly fever is endemic, and, in the delta region, reaches epidemic proportions every few years. From 842 to 4,688 cases were recorded annually in 1944-49. The sandfly vector, *Phlebotomus papatasii*, is widely distributed. The season of transmission usually extends from May to November, with a peak in June or July. Outbreaks of dengue fever are sporadic in the south. 164

Cases of elephantiasis of undetermined origin are occasionally encountered, but *Wuchereria bancrofti* is not known to be present. Guinea worm infections are sometimes seen in pilgrims from southern Iran, but no indigenous cases have been recorded. [484]

Nutritional Diseases

Undernutrition, anemia and avitaminosis are prevalent, especially among the wage-earning classes in the cities and the impoverished peasants of the south. Clinical manifestations of vitamin A and vitamin C deficiencies are widespread. In general, serious nutritional diseases tend to be more or less localized in distribution, depending upon the dietary habits and the standards of living of the people. Rickets is common, and from 100 to 2,387 cases were treated annually in the government institutions in 1944-49. Cases of scurvy and of osteomalacia are numerous. Beriberi and pellagra are sporadic, but minor symptoms of riboflavin deficiency are frequently observed. Protein edema is rare. A form of cirrhosis of the liver is encountered in which malnutrition is believed by some authorities to be a contributory factor. 146 511 361

Miscellaneous Conditions

Infectious hepatitis is endemic, and large-scale epidemics are reported occasionally. Encephalitis lethargica is sporadic. 114

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